THE OLD ENGLISH APOLLONIUS OF TYRE

BY

PHILIP H. GOEPP, 2ND.

AN EXTRACT FROM

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

I. The Latin *Historia*

A description of the relations of the Latin mss. The OE text represents a mixture of texts occurring relatively late in the history of the story. We have no Latin text that can be called the model of the English translation. The OE text represents an independent version of equal authority to the Latin texts of the English group.

II. Analysis of the *Historia*

A discussion of the themes of the story, with further examples, shows that the motifs were not the invention of the author. A comparison of the elements of the Apollonius story with those of the stories related to the Constance saga shows six important motifs in common and approximately the same pattern. The parts of the story dealing with Antiochus and with his wife's career probably have the same ultimate origin as the stories of the Constance cycle. *Apollonius* is also similar to the Faustinian story in the *Kaiserchronik* and Greene's *Pandosto*. It is not a literary invention, but a sophisticated and somewhat garbled literary version of a traditional story.

III. Action and Narrative Style of the *Historia*

The unity is not of action, but of point of view—didactic —and hence the story is not merely a romance.

IV. Versions

The many subsequent versions of the story are briefly described. Thirty versions, variously related are taken up, but only six have independent literary, as well as historical, value.

V. Analysis of the OE Apollonius

A comparison of the English version with the Latin.

VI. The Manuscript

A detailed description of handwriting, capitalization, punctuation, spacing, hyphenization, abbreviations, diacritical marks, corrections, and additions.

VII. Editions

A detailed description of Thorpe's and Zupitza's editions.

VIII. Language

This chapter contains a complete statistical analysis of the vocabulary of the text according to grammatical categories and a detailed study of syntax. The language is Late West Saxon, with only a few doubtful traces of other dialects. The date of the ms. is somewhere in the latter half of the tenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE TEXT

COMMENTARY

GLOSSARY

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THE NARRATIVE MATERIAL OF *APOLLONIUS OF TYRE*

By Philip H. Goepp, *2nd*

The story of Apollonius of Tyre is one of the most widely spread tales of medieval Europe. No manuscript earlier than the tenth century exists, although the story is undoubtedly many centuries older, and the circumstances of the ultimate origin and authorship have been much disputed. Rohde, in his authoritative study of the Greek romances of the Alexandrine period, called attention to the parallels between the Apollonius story and Xenophon's romance of Antheia and Habrokomes,[1] and favored the assumption of a Greek Apollonius romance, now lost, of which the known Latin version was a translation or at least a free imitation. Other scholars have agreed substantially with this view.[2] On the other hand, Elimar Klebs, who has made the most complete study of the Latin story in its numerous versions, not only insists that no certain indication of Greek origin is to be found in the Latin texts, but definitely places the romance among the works of the Roman sophists, Apuleius and Petronius, and dates it in the third century.[3]

No certain answer to this problem is attainable with the available evidence, and in any case the position of the story in relation to post-classical literature is a matter for classical philologists to settle.[4] But much as the story's literary character has been studied and written about, the nature of its narrative material, and the relation of that material to the world's general stock of stories, has been entirely ignored. It is that aspect of the romance that I shall examine here.[5]

[1] E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman,* 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1914, pp. 408 ff. Klebs attacks the validity of the Xenophon parallels (E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus,* Berlin, 1899, pp. 295-98).

[2] See especially A. Thielmann, *Ueber Sprach und Kritik des Latin Apollonius Romans,* Speier, 1881.

[3] *Klebs,* pp. 294-322.

[4] I should nevertheless insist that, in the absence of a Greek text, or of any reference to one, the burden of proof lies upon those who would assume a Greek original, and that so long as classical scholars are in sharp disagreement we should continue to assume Latin authorship.

[5] For a detailed examination and classification of the sixty odd mss. of the Latin

Analysis of the *Historia*

1. There was a certain King Antiochus, ruling in Antiochia, whose wife had died, leaving him a beautiful daughter. He was overcome with love for her, and ravished her.

2. In order to enjoy his daughter undisturbed, Antiochus let it be known that whoever wished to marry his daughter must first solve a riddle: whoever tried and failed would lose his head. Such was the beauty of the girl that many came, but all were beheaded, those that solved the riddle as well as those that failed, and their heads were hung on the castle gate. Then appeared Apollonius, young prince of Tyre. He succeeded in guessing the riddle, which described Antiochus' own situation, whereupon the king told him that he had failed but that he might return in a month and try again. Apollonius returned home, and Antiochus dispatched his steward, Thaliarcus, to kill him.

3. Realizing his peril, Apollonius loaded his ship with grain and treasure and fled from Tyre; Thaliarcus returned with this news to the king, who placed a large price on the fugitive's head, and sent ships in pursuit of him. Apollonius meanwhile came to Tharsus and, finding the city suffering a dire famine, relieved it with a generous gift of grain, for which a statue was erected in his honor; then he sailed away to seek a more suitable refuge.

4. After a few days a terrible storm arose, in which the ship was wrecked and all save Apollonius were lost. He was cast up on the shore of Pentapolis, where a fisherman rescued him, gave him food and drink, and shared half his cloak with him. Then he went into the town, and so impressed the king with his skill at ball playing that he was invited to the banquet hall.

5. At dinner an envious courtier, noticing that Apollonius did not eat but only gazed mournfully at the rich vessels and garments about him, suggested that the stranger was envious of the king's wealth, and was rebuked by the king. The princess then entered, and Apollonius, questioned by her on the cause

Historia see *Klebs*, pp. 12-186. The following summary is based upon Riese's text of 1893, which, though not satisfactory in the light of Klebs' study, nevertheless is the best available text.

of his sorrow, told her his story, weeping. The princess played on the harp, whereupon Apollonius boldly disparaged her playing, and proceeded to astonish and delight the company with his own playing, singing, and acting; this inspired the maiden with love for the hero, and she besought her father to make Apollonius her tutor, and made him rich presents of gold and silver.

6. So intense was the girl's love for Apollonius that she lay in bed as if ill, and no doctors could discover the cause of her illness. One day when the king and Apollonius were walking in the street before the palace three noble suitors approached, and demanded that a choice be made from among them. The King explained that the princess, being ill, could not receive them, but invited them to write their several offers in letters to the princess.

7. This was done, and the letters were carried to the princess by Apollonius; she sent back the answer, also by letter, that she would marry none but the " shipwrecked man." Apollonius was soon identified as the princess' choice, the three suitors were dismissed, and shortly afterwards the wedding took place.

8. Several months after the wedding a ship came from Tyre, bringing word that Antiochus had been struck by lightning, and that Apollonius had fallen heir to the throne. The married pair set out for Antiochia; again a storm arose, during which the queen was delivered of a daughter and, apparently, died. Apollonius was forced by the superstitious sailors to cast her seemingly dead body overboard in a chest; the chest drifted ashore at Ephesus, where the queen was restored by the physician Chæremon and entered the temple of Diana as a votaress.

9. Meanwhile Apollonius came to Tharsus, where he placed his infant daughter in the care of Stranguillio and Dionysiade. Then, swearing that he would never shave nor trim his hair and nails until he should see his daughter married, he departed, and spent fourteen years in Egypt.

10. When the girl reached the age of fourteen her nurse, Lycorida, revealed to her her true parentage. Then Dionysiade, jealous because Tharsia was fairer than her own daughter, and in order to appropriate the girl's dower and jewels, ordered her slave, Theophilus, to take Tharsia out and slay her. Before he

can do it, pirates suddenly appear and carry the girl away. The Tharsians, believing her dead, erect a monument to her.

11. The pirates carried Tharsia off to Mitylena; there she was offered for sale: prince Athenagoras sought to buy her, but was outbid by a pander, with the understanding that the prince should be permitted to deflower her.

12. When Athenagoras came to her the girl begged for mercy and told her story, and the prince gave her gold and left her untouched. All others who approached her did the same. Then the brothel-keeper sent his servant to ravish her, but even he was overcome with pity; finally Athenagoras adopted her as his daughter.

13. Meanwhile Apollonius had returned to Tharsus, learned of his daughter's supposed death, and was now on his ship in the harbor of Mitylena plunged in deep melancholy. Tharsia was sent to relieve his sorrow. After her first song he sent her away with a present; but she returned and sought to entertain him with riddles. Again he repulsed her, this time with a blow.

14. Weeping, Tharsia related her sad story, and Apollonius recognized her as his daughter, and gave her to Athenagoras in marriage.

15. Then Apollonius was warned, in a dream, to go to Ephesus, to the temple of Diana. There his wife appeared, beautiful as a goddess in splendid raiment; Apollonius thereupon related his life history, and was happily reunited with his long-lost wife. He returned to Tharsus, punished the guilty foster parents, rewarded the old fisherman and the faithful Hellanicus: then he proceeded to Pentapolis where, upon the death of his father-in-law Archestrates, he succeeded to the kingdom, and lived long in happiness and prosperity.

Using this fairly detailed summary as a basis, I shall consider in turn the separate motifs of the story. In such an examination of sources and relationships it will not always be possible to distinguish between antecedent and offspring. That is, we frequently cannot tell whether a trait found in some other story derives from the *Apollonius* itself or from an earlier source or tradition common to both. All cases where it is reasonably certain that a trait *derives* from our story will be

ignored, since we are not concerned with the historical career of the tale subsequent to the Latin *Historia*; but this certainty cannot always be established, and where there is any doubt a trait will be regarded as either collaterally related or merely analogous.

The purpose of the following notes, then, is to analyze systematically the nature of the narrative material used by the author of the Latin *Historia*, and so determine whether *Apollonius* is a literary invention or a traditional story in literary form.

1. The king violates, or wishes to marry, his daughter.

This theme is so common in myth, folklore, and romance that I list here only a few of the typical instances:

In Greek myth, according to some versions, Pallas attempted the chastity of his daughter Athena, who flayed him and used the skin to shield her own body in the fight with the giant Enceladus.[6] Myrrha became the mother of Adonis by her own father.

In folklore, this type of incest is found as the opening episode in most versions of the "Peau d'Ane," or "Catskin," or "Maiden without Hands" tale.[7] The Albanus legend offers a double incest of father and daughter (Rank, 358), as does also a Greek *märchen* probably related to it.[8] The Constance saga, which undoubtedly derives in all its essentials directly from folklore, typically begins with a threatened incest. In Norse story Hrolfr Kraki, according to some versions, was the fruit of an incestuous union, but here, as in *Oedipus*, the act was done unwittingly on the part of the father. (*Grottasongr* 22; *Hrolf saga Kraka* 7, 9.)

The Incestuous Father appears in a long list of romances and stories: *Mai und Beaflor, la Belle Helene de Constantinople, La Manekine, La Comtesse d'Anjou, The History of the King of Hungary, Émare* (Middle Eng.),—these may be mentioned principally. Some of them will receive further attention

[6] Apollodorus, *The Library*, tr. J. G. Frazer, 1921, 1. 46 n. 1.

[7] Bolte-Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*. Leipzig, 1913-18, 1. 295 ff., 2. 45 ff.

[8] O. Rank, *Das Inzestmotiv in Dichtung und Sage*, 2d. ed., Wien, 1912, p. 358.

in the second part of this inquiry: all are related, in varying degrees, to the Constance saga.[9]

2. The Riddle Test for Suitors.

Some sort of device for keeping suitors away from the daughter is naturally to be expected in connection with this type of incest situation,—*i. e.*, the father must have some plausible excuse for keeping his daughter for himself. But while the situation is common enough, the method here employed is not, so far as I can discover, elsewhere associated with it, nor do the usual suitor tests—contests, tasks, etc.—seem to have any close resemblance to the episode in *Apollonius*. The fact that the riddle itself contains the king's guilty secret seems to reflect some formula now obscured, inasmuch as it is not a reasonable procedure in itself. Originally, we may suppose, there was some compelling reason why the king risked his secret in this unnecessarily dangerous fashion.

The story of Oedipus offers the nearest parallel, although the circumstances are measurably different: the hero, in order to win his bride, Jocasta, had first to solve the riddle of the sphinx.

3. Apollonius relieves the famine in Tharsus.

This entire episode must be set down here as a literary invention; in any case, I have found no parallels, even remote ones, for it. Still, lack of evidence does not in itself prove anything, and I suspect strongly either an historical or traditional basis for the episode—if only because of the well known rarity of genuine literary invention It is barely possible, for example, that such a tradition descended, in a way now impossible to trace, from the story of Joseph relieving the famine in Egypt. I offer this merely as the wildest sort of conjecture, of course, with the additional observation that, just as Apollonius was skilled in solving riddles, Joseph was similarly gifted: he was an interpreter of dreams.

4. The hero is shipwrecked, rescued, and wins favor at court.

This sequence in its more general aspect is common to the stories of many heroes of romance: Ulysses, Horn, Havelok,

[9] See M. Schlauch, *Chaucer's* Constance *and Accused Queens*, 1927.

Beves, Tristan, to mention only a few. No detailed examination of this very general parallelism is necessary here.

The special circumstance of the fisherman sharing half his cloak with the forlorn and destitute hero is, as others have pointed out, strongly suggestive of the well known legend concerning St. Martin of Tours (see *Dictionary of Christian Biography*). A more interesting parallel is found in the Faustinian story in the twelfth century *Kaiserchronik*,[10] about which I shall have more to say at a later point. Chapter 3 runs, in part, as follows (Massmann's summary):

> Then Faustinian himself, after placing his son in care of his men, sets out to find wife and children; after visiting many countries, he too, is shipwrecked.
>
> nacket stuont er ane wat
> (richtuom was ime vremede)
> wen in sinem naggen hemede
> . . . .
> ja rief er nach dem tôde.
>
> Then he saw an *Eseler* (pedlar?), presented himself as a shipwrecked merchant, and declared that he wished only for death. The *Eseler* chides him, gives him bread and wine and his own cloak. They go into Laodicea, where Faustinian works in the mill and carries wood,—" but he was dear to all for his truth and wisdom." (ll. 1780-7.)

The parallel here is remarkably complete. The two heroes are in exactly similar circumstances; the details of their rescues are identical—even including the cloak. Finally, the picture of Faustinian standing on the shore, as it is given in the lines quoted above, vividly recall the very phrasing of the same scene in *Apollonius*, especially in the Old English: "Ða stod he nacod onðam strande and beheold ða sæ," etc. The parallelism of the whole sequence is the more significant in that the *Faustinian* is, as we shall see, similar in other respects to the *Apollonius* story.

5. The hero attends the king's banquet, is taunted by a courtier, relates his misfortunes to the princess, and inspires her love by his harp-playing.

This part of the narrative flows smoothly and naturally, with none of the difficulties and obscurities of motivation char-

[10] *Der Kaiserchronik*, ed., Massmann, Leipzig, 1954, 3. 635 ff.

acteristic of a great deal of the story. At least, this is true except for one minor but possible significant feature: after the princess has played and sung to the company, the hero, with what seems to us more honesty than tact, disparages her playing and proceeds immediately to do much better himself. Yet this undiplomatic behavior, far from antagonizing the maiden as we might naturally expect, actually inflames her with an overpowering love for him. Doubtless this may have seemed eminently natural to the Sophist author of the *Historia* (see p. 170, below), but even if that is granted, the story still looks suspiciously like an elaboration of a simpler original. Such an original may either have been a story similar to that of Tristan at the Irish court, or, what is more likely, a story of the hero who wins a contest with the princess, in this case a contest in harp-playing.

Even in its present form, however, the episode strongly suggests the Tristan story. The position of Apollonius may also be compared with that of Æneas, who suffered shipwreck, related his adventures to Dido, and inspired her with a hopeless passion; but the resemblance is not close enough to suggest any relationship. The fact that a dozen lines or so from Vergil's description are borrowed bodily for the storm scene in *Apollonius* is of little significance, because the lines may have been interpolated long after the composition of the original work.

6. The princess is prostrated with love-sickness; three suitors demand, in a letter, that she choose from among them.

The number three is, of course, exceedingly important in myth and folklore. In the story as we have it, the number of suitors is of no significance, since only two play any active rôle in the scene, and only one is given a name, Ardalius. Originally, no doubt, each of the three had his individual function, in some such story as that of the three caskets in *The Merchant of Venice*, but little remains of it now save the number three itself. Almost any number above two would give the comic effect intended by the author, in the story as it now stands.

7. The princess, in a letter, chooses the hero for her husband.

This theme is actually part of 6. above, and I have abstracted it for separate discussion merely for convenience. The whole

episode of the suitors is remarkable in several ways. It provides the only comedy in the romance, and probably the best narrative. But it is also the most puzzling, despite the fact that compared to the story as a whole it is related with unusually detailed vividness This naturalness is not enough to blind the reader to the essential artificiality, even absurdity, of the circumstances. Why does the king hold audience with the noble suitors out in the street in such an undignified, insulting fashion? Why does he suggest the extraordinary and cumbersome procedure of writing letters to someone a few yards away? Why, above all, does he send the letters by Apollonius, causing the princess to exclaim, quite understandably, " Master, why do you come alone into my chamber? " For all we are told to the contrary the king is merely indulging a taste for whimsy in all this, but it is likely, also, that the author is here following, in his own fashion and with some alteration, a course of events already determined for him.

Let us consider first the letters. Now, when a letter is introduced into a story it usually means trouble. It may, as in the famous instance of Uriah the Hittite, or Bellerephon, or Hamlet, carry in it the bearer's death. In other cases it may be introduced expressly in order that it can be falsified, or delayed, or lost entirely, and so bring about misunderstanding, slander, tragedy, even death, as in the case of Constance, Juliet, and others. Or, finally, these two functions may be combined in the same story, to further the ends not of tragedy but romance: Penzer, in his discussion of the theme, gives the following illustration from Tawney's collections of Hindu tales:

> The merchant Sagarapota overhears certain astrologers saying that the boy Damnannaka, a penniless orphan, will be master of his house. He tries various means to get rid of the boy, all of which fail. On one occasion he sends the boy home to his wife with a letter. The story then proceeds thus: Damnannaka started on his journey. When he reached the Rajagrika he was tired, and he lay down in the temple of the God of Love to refresh himself. Sleep fell upon him. In the meantime the daughter of that very merchant, Vishā by name, came to worship the God of Love. She saw Damnannaka . . . and while she was looking at him her eye fell on her father's letter, so she took it from the end of his stick and read it. It ran as follows: " Health and prosperity! Sagarapota from the cattle farm lovingly embraces Samudratta, and tells him what is to be done:

Before he has time to wash his feet, you must immediately bestow upon this man
Visha (poison), and so make my heart free from pain.

She thought: "No doubt my father has found here a bridegroom fit for me: as for the marriage having to be performed this very day, it means that today is an auspicious day, so that the marriage must take place today (etc.)." She then changed the short 'a' in 'Visha' to 'ā,' sealed up the letter and went home, and the marriage duly took place." [11]

Essentially the same story, this time dealing with an emperor and his daughter, is found in *Le Dit de l'Empereur Coustant*, a thirteenth century French romance; Saxo's version of the Hamlet story uses the same theme, except that there the hero himself alters the letter.

Now, to return to *Apollonius*, I suggest that this story, in its essentials, is the original source of the strange antics of King Archestrates. Apollonius is a destitute stranger to the court; he carries a letter, and takes back to the king the letter the princess has written; the princess' letter designates him as the bridegroom; their marriage results. Admittedly the circumstances and details are otherwise quite different: there is no Letter of Death at all, nor any deception; the princess does not substitute a letter, but openly writes a reply. Nevertheless, the form, as it were, has been preserved, if the substance is changed. How much it was changed we cannot know, lacking any examples of an intermediate stage, but it would be rash to assume that no such stage existed.

The Altered Letter theme as it appears in stories of the Constance-cycle has in itself no close resemblance to the letters in *Apollonius*, and so its possible significance for our story is not properly discussed here.

8. The queen gives birth at sea to a daughter, and falls into a death-like stupor. She is cast overboard in a chest, floats to shore, and is revived.

The placing of the mother in a chest recalls, even though it does not closely parallel, the Greek story of Danaë; we can at any rate fairly say that floating chests have always been common property among story tellers. The theme plays a promi-

[11] N. M. Jenzer, *Somadeva Bhatta's kathā savit sāgava*, tr. Tawney, London, 1924-28, 10 v. 4, 365-7.

nent part in the Constance saga, where the heroine and her son are set afloat, in some versions in a chest, in others in an iron cask, in still others in a boat without oars. Now Constance, unlike the *Apollonius* heroine, is alive and conscious when she enters the chest, in all known versions of the tale. On the other hand, the use of a chest rather than a boat certainly is more suitable to the conveyance of a dead, or rather seemingly dead, body than a living person; it is also more reasonable to expect a person in a cataleptic state to survive such a solitary voyage. At an earlier stage of the tale, then, Constance was quite probably in a death-like stupor, just as in our story. In *Romeo and Juliet*, and in *The Winter's Tale*, we find the death-like stupor (in the latter case the trait is nearly obscured, but see the discussion below) without the voyage motif but with the subsequent resuscitation.

9. Apollonius comes to Tharsus, places his daughter in the care of foster parents, and goes away for 14 years.

The motive for placing Tharsia with guardians is entirely obscure in our story, nor do we know why the hero goes off to Egypt for fourteen years. From the narrator's standpoint, of course, all that was required was the separation of father and daughter and a lapse of time sufficient for her to grow to maturity. However, putting away or exposing a child of an unnatural or an incestuous union is common (cf. the stories of Tisiphone, Oedipus, Albanus, Judas, Gregory, Pandosto), and that may have been the original cause of the separation in this case, especially if, as we have other grounds to believe, Apollonius is sometimes confused or identified with Antiochus.

Apollodorus supplies us with a rough parallel to this part of the story: Tisiphone, natural daughter of Alcmeon, was entrusted to foster parents, sold into slavery, and later recovered. Apollodorus' version runs thus:

Euripides says (in his *Alcmeon*, now lost) that in the time of his madness Alcmeon begat two children, Amphilocus and a daughter Tisiphone, by Manto daughter of Tiresias, and that he bought the babes to Corinth and gave them to Creon King of Corinth to bring up; and that on account of her extraordinary comeliness Tisiphone was sold as a slave by Creon's spouse, who feared that Creon might make her his wedded wife. But Alcmeon bought her and kept her as a handmaid, not knowing she was his daughter,

and that coming to Corinth to get back his children he recovered his son also.[12]

The Stepmother Theme itself, exemplified here, is too well known to require illustration.

10. The daughter is ordered slain by the jealous foster mother, but is abducted by pirates.

The theme of the jealous or cruel stepmother is a familiar one in folk and fairy tale. Abduction by pirates is a piece of plot machinery much favored by the late Greek romancers, and seems to have no especial significance here.

11. Tharsia is offered for sale at Mitylena; a prince, seeking to buy her, is outbid by a pander, and the girls is forced into a brothel.

The fact that Tharsia is sold into this particular form of slavery may be explained in several ways. (a) It may be merely a literary invention, for sensational effect. (b) It may, as Rank insists, have an organic relation to the incest complex upon which the story is built—once more assuming (see 9. above) that Apollonius can be regarded as originally identical with Antiochus—and so regarded as the literary record of a sexual phantasy. Be that as it may, the part of the episode which introduces Athenagoras bidding unsuccessfully against the pander is not without parallel: Benfey reports such a tale in the *Pantchatantra* (2, 201). In short, the incident itself cannot be regarded as original with the author, but whether or not its insertion into the story is his own idea is open to question.

12. Tharsia by virtue of her charm and talents preserves her virginity against all assaults, is showered with money, and is finally taken under the protection of the prince.

This feature of the story, although it recalls the legends of St. Agnes and St. Agatha (*Dictionary of Christian Biography*) appears to be essentially literary. However, Suchier, in his introduction to *La Manékine,* observes that Peau d'Ane " remplit chez un prince les functions les plus viles " before he finally married her;[13] in the Offa-saga, too, Constance is with Offa

[12] *The Library,* Frazer tr., III, vii, 7.

[13] *Oevres Poetique de Beaumanoir,* Paris, 1884, 2 vols. Introduction to 'La Manékine.'

quite a while before her marriage to him. Unfortunately the corresponding characters are not involved in each case, and so the resemblance is slight.

13. The hero returns, hears of his daughter's supposed death, and comes to Mitylena; Tharsia is sent to him to relieve his sorrow. She sings to him, then tells him riddles, and he repulses her.

This episode as it stands seems to have no important parallels elsewhere, although it faintly recalls the Biblical story of David and Saul.

There are, nevertheless, certain details in the narration that suggest that in an earlier stage in the story's development Tharsia's visit was not merely a matter of riddle-telling. That is, what we have is evidently a remnant of a second incest episode, or, perhaps, a narrowly avoided unwitting incest as in *Pandosto* and in stories of the Griselda type. The hero is about to marry his daughter when he learns, just in time, of their relationship.

14. Tharsia relates her history, thus bringing about mutual recognition; she is given to Athenagoras in marriage.

The narration by a character of her life story as a device to bring about a recognition is too obvious to be of much significance, so that the mere fact that it is also the method followed in *Pandosto*, in *Der Busant* (Köhler-Bolte 2, 351), and in the Faustinian story is not important in itself. And only in *Pandosto* do we find, in addition, an approximate counterpart of the figure of Athenagoras.

15. Apollonius is warned, in a dream, to go to Ephesus; there, in the temple of Diana, his wife appears; he tells her his story, and again mutual recognition takes place.

This closing episode is roughly paralleled in the *Winter's Tale* but not, curiously enough, in its source, *Pandosto*. Leontes recovers his wife after he had supposed her to be dead for sixteen years. There are many differences, of course, too obvious to dwell upon, but in one detail there is an interesting similarity: Shakespeare, it will be recalled, makes use of a device generally supposed to be derived from the story of Pygmalion. *Hermione* poses as a statue, and, after Leontes'

speech, which corresponds functionally at least with Apollonius' narration, comes to life, and reveals herself as his long-lost wife. In the *Apollonius* there is a definite emphasis laid upon the fact that the wife appears as an extraordinarily beautiful figure, so that all present thought she was Diana herself. In both, then, there are the two elements present: unusual beauty and a hint of the supernatural.

It is further interesting to find that in the conclusion of many of the stories relating to the tale of Constance, a conclusion that is also one of recognition and reunion, the heroine appears in a dazzling (or magic) robe, and the people are awed by her splendor.[14]

So much for the examination of the separate motifs of our story. The evidence is clear that, with one or two exceptions, these motifs were not inventions of the author of the *Historia*. This is what we should expect to find on *a priori* considerations; the somewhat disjointed and at times completely illogical and unmotivated character of the narrative indicates that even the earliest form known to us is already the result of considerable handling—or mishandling. Whether that career was essentially a literary one, or whether it was an oral tradition, is our next question. There are three possible hypotheses.

1) The *Historia* as we have it is a pure literary invention. This we can discard immediately, for the textual difficulties alone make it untenable; also, as we have seen, nearly all the elements of the story can be found elsewhere.

2) The plot itself, although composed of elements already in existence, was invented, artistically synthesized, by a single author. This alternative, at this stage in the discussion, is still a possibility.

3) The tale had a pre-literary, traditional, orally transmitted history, and is, accordingly, not an artistic invention but follows a traditional pattern. Let us examine what evidence there is to support this conjecture.

The incest episode with which the *Apollonius* begins is frequently regarded as not organically related to the rest of the story. Such an opinion is natural, inasmuch as both Antiochus and his daughter disappear entirely from the story except for

[14] A. B. Gough, *The Constance Saga, Palæstra* 23. (1902.)

the wholly unexplained circumstance of Apollonius' inheriting Antiochus' throne upon his death. However, this theme of father-daughter incest (usually not consummated) also forms the beginning of a large group of stories and folk tales, nearly all of which are related closely to the Constance-saga. (See principally Gough, Suchier, and Schick[15].)

Now these stories, it happens, have other characteristics in common with the *Apollonius*. For purposes of comparison I reproduce here, slightly abridged, Gough's reconstruction of what he calls the "primitive form" of the Constance saga:[16]

1. A father desires to marry his daughter.
2. She refuses, and her hands are cut off in punishment.
3. She flees to a forest.
4. A king finds her and marries her.
5. He goes away to the wars.
6. During his absence the heroine bears a son.
7. The wicked mother-in-law forges two letters, the first to the king calumniating his wife, the second ordering her punishment.
8. The heroine and her child are banished.
9. They cross the water in a floating chest, or cask, carrying treasure or a rich robe.
10. The heroine meets her husband.
11. The husband returns, discovers the treachery, and burns the traitor.
12. The heroine is reconciled to her repentant father.

It is interesting to observe, first of all, that in the Constance saga the initial episode is virtually as unnecessary to the main plot as it is in *Apollonius*. In each story it seems to serve merely as a means of starting the hero or heroine on his adventures.

Ignoring the obvious differences between the two stories, we may note the following important resemblances:

a) Both fall into a class of narratives characterized by this general pattern: a man, his wife, and child are separated; after many adventures and difficulties they are at last united.

b) Both begin with incest, threatened or actual, between father and daughter (in some folk tales brother and sister).

[15] R. Schick, 'Die Quelle der Offa-Konstanze Sage,' *Brittanica Festschr. für Max Foerster*, 1929, 31-56. See also notes 13, 14, *supra*.

[16] *Gough*, 9, 10, 12, 14.

There is not an exact correspondence of the characters involved, to be sure, but in both stories we have cause to suspect a doubling of characters to some extent: in *Con.* of father with son-in-law; in *Ap.* of Antiochus with Apollonius, Antiochus' daughter with Archestrates' daughter (the hero's wife), and the latter with her daughter. Some such assumption, at any rate, helps remove some difficulties in each story considered independently, as well as serving to bring the two stories closer together in several respects.

c) After the marriage (*Con.* 4., *Ap.* 7.) each husband goes away for an unreasonably long period: in *Con.* to war, in *Ap.* to Egypt.

d) A floating chest figures in both tales as the way in which the married pair become separated. An *Ap.* the wife is an apparent corpse when she is placed in the chest, but as I have argued above (p. 160) this seems to be a later development, and the probability is that the incident was originally closely parallel to the one in *Con.*

e) The persecution and banishment of the wife in *Con.* can be regarded as having a parallel in the attempted murder and subsequent abduction of Apollonius daughter. This is a very doubtful parallel, since it requires a supposition first, that the characters of mother and daughter have been confused; second, that in *Ap.* the persecution theme has become separated from the floating chest story.

f) In several versions of *Con.* (*Emare, Manékine*) the wife appears at the end in a rich (magic) robe, so that people are dazzled by her splendor; this feature is similar to the description of the beautiful appearance of the wife at the close of *Ap.* (See above, p. 163.)

There are one or two further points that are interesting but not definitely significant. I have discussed the Altered Letter theme, as I reconstruct it, in *Ap.* (7.). Letters also figure in *Con.*, but they are simple forgeries, and their purpose is totally different, so that there is no good reason for supposing that they are not entirely independent motifs. It is tempting, nevertheless, to see a link between the stories in the name Constance (or, in one version, Helen of Constantinople, or Constantine's daughter), when we recall that one typical example

of the Altered Letter motif is the *Dit de l'Empereur Coustant*.

In *Helen of Constantinople*, and in Trivet's *Constance*, St. Martin of Tours appears as the benefactor of the heroine: this is the same St. Martin about whom is told the legend that he once shared his cloak with a beggar, like the fisherman in *Ap*. This is no doubt pure coincidence, but an interesting one.

It cannot be sheer coincidence, however, that these two stories have at least six important motifs in common, and approximately in the same pattern. We cannot establish any more exactly the nature of their relationship, but in view of the distorted and disconnected character of the *Apollonius* narrative, I suggest that the parts of the story dealing with, first Antiochus, then with the *wife's* career from the time of her marriage to the close, are drawn from the same ultimate sources as those from which sprang the stories of the Constant cycle—in short, that they are distantly collateral descendants of a common ancestor. Such a conjecture is not intended to account for all of the narrative material of *Apollonius*, but before looking elsewhere for further illumination there is another monument to consider in connection with the Constance cycle.

Schick, in his study *Die Quelle der Offa-Konstanze Saga*,[17] offers the theory that the so-called Clementine Recognitions, dating from the third century, form the kernel of the Constance saga. Such a theory seems to me to disregard the significance of the folk tale parallels for the saga, but, be that as it may, certain features of the recognitions are of interest in connection with the *Apollonius*. The material is found in a convenient form in Massman's summary of the Faustinian story as it appears in the twelfth century *Kaiserchronik*:

1. Faustinian had twin sons by his wife Mathilda; his brother Claudius was seized with desire for her, and she promised to yield to him after her child should be born. The child is named Clemens. The twins are sent abroad to be educated; the ship is wrecked, and all are drowned save the two boys, who are rescued by a fisherman. He sells them to a widow, who adopts them and places them in a monastery.
2. The Empress Mathilda, hearing nothing of her two sons, persuades her husband to let her go after them; this ship is also wrecked, but she is saved and finds refuge with an ill widow, whom she serves faithfully for 13 years.

[17] See n. 15 above.

3. Meanwhile Faustinian himself sets out to find wife and children; after visiting many countries he, too, is shipwrecked. He is rescued by a poor pedlar, who gives him food, and drink and shares his cloak with him. They go together into Laodicea, where Faustinian must work in the mill.
4. The rest of the story is concerned with how Faustinian Mathilda, and the three sons are after various adventures finally reunited, with the help of St. Peter, in a series of recognitions—whence the title.[18]

These recognitions bear a general resemblance to those in *Apollonius*, in that they are brought about by successive narrations of life stories by each character in turn. One detail, too, is suggestive of a similar trait in the scene where Apollonius regains his daughter: Peter has brought Mathilda to meet her son Clemens, " dem sie um den Hals fiel, dass er sie abwehrte, bis Petrus ihm Aufschluss gab." No explanation is given for this repulse, any more than in Apollonius when the father first repulses his daughter.

The similarity of 3. with the circumstances of Apollonius' shipwreck has already been given sufficient attention. There is a very general similarity between the two stories in that both deal with the separation and eventual reunion of man, wife, and children.

Since we are not concerned with the later history of the Apollonius saga itself in this chapter, the story of Pandosto, together with its more famous offspring *The Winter's Tale*, is doubtfully included in this inquiry. If any connection at all between it and *Apollonius* be assumed, there is then no valid reason why we should suppose the relationship collateral rather than direct. I include it nevertheless, because of its intrinsic interest and because it has nowhere else received notice in this connection.

Indeed, no source whatever for Greene's romance has been brought to light ; it is thought by Shakespearean scholars that the plot was largely contrived by Greene himself out of elements drawn from various sources. Moreover, no one has been able to trace the source of Shakespeare's alterations and additions to the story, which may, of course, be entirely his

[18] See n. 10 above.

own. Mooreman,[19] following Wolf,[20] has pointed out Greene's probable indebtedness, directly or indirectly, to the themes of several Greek romances, *Theogenes and Chariclea, Clitophon and Leucippe, Daphnis and Chloe, Antheia and Habrokomes*, for much of his narrative material, but he failed to observe the rather striking similarity between the Leontes-Hermione-Perdita-Florizel story and the corresponding Apollonius-Archestrate-Tharsia-Athenagoras pattern.

1. The position of the hero in relation to his family is virtually the same throughout each story, even though there is considerable discrepancy in motivation.

2. The career of Hermione is parallel to that of Apollonius' wife. She is supposed by her husband to be dead, retires from the world, and is restored to the hero only after sixteen years. Despite the differences in details and motivation, the action is externally the same in each story.

3. There is, finally, a close correspondence between the rôles played by Tharsia and Perdita in each story. Each is ordered slain, escapes death, finds a lover, and is finally restored to father and mother. (So Shakespeare: in Greene the wife dies.)

4. In a scene (suppressed by Shakespeare) Pandosto woos his own daughter, unwittingly: the corresponding scene in the Apollonius plot shows unmistakable traces of the same situation.

Of these four points of resemblance only the last is particularly significant in itself, but the cumulative effect is one of a rough parallelism between the *Apollonius* from the point at which his daughter is born to the end, and the entire plot of *Pandosto*. The pattern of the latter story overlaps to some extent that part of the Apollonius narrative that we have already tried to indentify with the Constance saga; it covers much that is not paralleled in Constance, notably the career of the hero's daughter.

My general conclusions as a result of this inquiry are these: The Apollonius narrative is not a literary invention, either in its details (with certain possible exceptions) or in the outline

[19] H. F. Mooreman, *The Winter's Tale*, Arden ed., Methuen, London, 1912, xviii ff.

[20] S. L. Wolf, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, Columbia University Press, 1912.

of its plot. It is rather, a sophisticated and somewhat garbled literary version of a traditional story, or, more likely, of a blending of more than one story. The initial Antiochus episode is not a deliberately chosen motif, but is organically related to the rest of the tale, although the original connection has been nearly obscured.

Apollonius is almost certainly, although in a manner not very clear, related to the group of stories forming the Constance cycle. It appears also to be related to the essential plot of Greene's *Pandosto*; at least there is sufficient similarity to make very unlikely the notion that Greene himself invented the story.

So much for the nature of the action of the Latin Historia; we may notice some characteristic features of the manner of its telling. The work is nearly pure narration from beginning to end, unbroken by digression or by reflections by the author. More than that, there is throughout barely a word of description, hardly an adjective indicating a concrete, sensible quality. With remarkable consistency the narrative is addressed to the reader's mind, never to his senses. Although the story is actually full of incident, there is no tendency to dwell upon action for action's sake, nor upon descriptive, or pictorial detail. Scenes are not so much described as reported, except, to be sure, when they are put in the form of dialogue, and it is only in the dialogue passages that the author emerges, figuratively, into the historical present. These essentially dramatic scenes are scattered plentifully throughout the otherwise meagre, at times actually summary, narrative, producing a halting, uneven effect, an alternate speeding up and slowing down of the action.

To what extent this lack of proportion was true of the work in its original form we cannot now know. As it is, what unity the story possesses is a unity of treatment, of point of view, rather than of structure. The didactic, aphoristic manner is clearly discernible throughout, and this makes unlikely any supposition that the story is an accidental collection of separate tales. A few illustrations of this didacticism will suffice, although nearly every dialogue passage shows the tendency: Apollonius, failing to respond to the greeting of his inferior (Hellanicus) is promptly rebuked by the latter for his unbecoming discourtesy; a little later the same Hellanicus, scorning the hero's generous suggestion that he report Apollonius'

death and collect the reward from Antiochus, delivers himself of this wholesome aphorism: "neither gold nor silver is to be compared with men's friendship;" again, Apollonius is rescued, clothed, and fed by a poor fisherman, who bids him remember his benefactor if ever he regain his former estate. Whereupon the hero makes the solemn rejoinder "If I do not remember, I hope I may again be shipwrecked and fail to find thy like."

The didacticism is not merely a matter of speeches, moreover, but fundamental to the structure of the story. As I have already intimated, the episode wherein Apollonius relieves the distressed, starving Tharsians has no necessary place in the action. Apparently it was deliberately inserted to provide an opportunity for the noble hero to display his generosity and superiority to mercenary motives in a striking fashion. Consider, too, the nature of the love-story, fortunately complete in the Old English fragment. Archestrates' daughter falls in love with Apollonius not 'wantonly' but because of the talents he has displayed to the assemblage, because he is "on eallum þingum wel gelæred," including harp playing, singing, and (in the Latin) acting. There might be here a suspicion of irony, were it not for the fact that the point is so definitely emphasized at the story's close, fifteen years later. "Thou art Apollonius my master, who taught me; thou are the shipwrecked one whom I loved not for wantonness but for (thy) wisdom."

Our conclusions as to the Latin *Historia*, based upon our study of the action and of the narrative style, are in substantial agreement with Klebs' view. The story was a traditional one, in outline and even in some of its details; it is not, in the form known to us, simply a romance, but an old story told in a Sophistic manner and with a clearly discernible didactic purpose.

The fragmentary Old English text preserves almost exactly half the original romance. Fortunately it is the best part, from the æsthetic point of view; it takes the tale as far as Apollonius' marriage, and thus forms a love-story complete in itself. The hero's subsequent misfortunes have little to do, artistically considered, with the first part of the story.

In considering the quality of the English version, we must remember that the translation follows its Latin model almost

word for word. Comparison with the most closely related Latin texts indicate that the translator stuck to his original very faithfully and, except in a few cases, reproduced it pretty accurately. The faults of the story, such as the wearisome, unvarying dialogue formula "he said," "he answered," or the many superfluous repetitions of conversations, were all in the Latin. There are only two important departures from the original. The incest episode has suffered some expurgation, especially in the matter of sensational detail; it would be interesting to know how the brothel sequences were treated in the lost portion of the text. The other case, which is apparently due to an oversight rather than deliberate expurgation, is the omission of the passage describing the love-sickness of Archestrates' daughter.

I say apparently, because one circumstance suggests that the passage might have been deliberately suppressed, either because it was felt to be offensive or because it was simply not understood. The circumstance is this: in the scene immediately following the omitted passage, King Archestrates tells the three suitors that they have chosen a poor time to come, because (forsooth!) the girl "is very busy with her studies." Now, inasmuch as the whole scene has an unmistakably comic tinge, this absurd excuse might well be intended as a deliberately insulting bit of irony. In the Latin texts the king gives a rather different excuse, which is that the girl is ill from overstudy, and here we cannot be sure whether the king genuinely believes overstudy to be the cause of the trouble or not. Presumably he does, since all the doctors have been unable to diagnose the case, and so only the reader appreciates the humor. However that may be, the point is that the English version is at least consistent with itself, and so it is certainly possible that there was a deliberate suppression in the first case, and then an equally deliberate alteration of the king's speech to correspond.

The other mistranslations and confusions are of no especial significance. On the whole, the translation is quite accurate for both sense and feeling; indeed, there is little enough in the Latin of subtlety, of elaboration of thought or description, to cause even the most wooden translator much difficulty. Klebs' phrase describing the translation as showing "eine gewisse Unbeholfenheit des Ausdruckes"[21] seems to me an exaggera-

[21] *Klebs*, p. 132.

tion of the truth. No doubt the same author would not have been equal to translating Cicero, Horace, or Catullus; as it is, his powers of expression actually suffer little in comparison with those of his late Latin model. The fact that he lacks the compression and somewhat dry impersonality of the Latin does not convict him of helplessness; rather it serves to give his narrative more warmth and vigor. The abundance of participles and passives give the Latin economy and clarity of statement, but they also endow what ought to be vivid narration with a cold, static quality, where the greater discursiveness and simplicity of the English tends to bring the action closer to the reader. The English describes the actual happening of an event, the Latin, in effect, sums up the result of the action. Compare, for vividness, "þæt scip eal tobærst" with "soluta est navis," or "þar up eode on þam strande. Ða stod he nacod on þam strande and beheold þa sæ, and cwæð (etc.)," with "stans in litore nudus, intuens mare ait."

If Klebs was thinking rather of the relative poverty of the Old English vocabulary the observation has more justice, for this does undeniably make for a certain monotony, as well as the occasional loss of shades of meaning. Yet the substitution of *genitor* for *pater*, or *pelagus* for *mare*, and similar attempts to secure variety actually do little to enliven the style, and lend the narrative an affected, almost pedantic tone, at times, from which the English with its simpler vocabulary is free. The Latin, as I have said, is essentially meagre, but it is also falsely elegant—a literary genteel poverty. The English, as a close translation must necessarily share this poverty, but here the simplicity is real.

The text holds an unique position among the surviving monuments of the Old English period. It is the only example of Old English prose fiction that we have or know anything about. Whether it is typical of its kind, or whether, indeed, there were any more like it, are questions of great interest, but there is little prospect of their ever being answered. It is unique, too, in one other respect: it is the earliest known version in a European vernacular of the famous story.

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